CADBURYS AT CLAREMONT

AN ANTIPODEAN BOURNVILLE?

by

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge, it contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

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Cadbury-Fry-Pascall Soccer Team - 1922

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Cadbury-Fry-Pascall Ltd (Cadbury) factory established at Claremont, Tasmania in 1921 was unique insofar as it involved the complete transfer of a British based company and management, with associated welfare and planning traditions, to a community of workers from a British cultural background living in Australia. A number of reasons can be put forward concerning the willingness of the Cadbury family as directors and managers, to implement identical welfare services in Tasmania. An examination is made of the principles, development and social consequences of these welfare services in order to arrive at historical and sociological explanations. These explanations are based upon considerations of four interrelated elements: the use of welfare as a means of gaining control over the workforce, the religious ideology of the Quaker owners, the Progressive ideas of the contemporary management and the attitudes of the Australian workers.

The theorists of so called paternalistic capitalism interpret the use of welfare services as a means of social control whereby, through paternalistic practices, a fundamentally inequalitarian system becomes morally justified and stabilised. An isolated self-contained community, such as Cadburys hoped to build in Claremont, provides the best milieu for paternalism to operate within. In such a situation the employer can, through welfare, create a structural framework within which domination can become almost complete. That is, his

influence is able to extend into all areas of a worker's life, including his private life. The company becomes a 'greedy institution' seeking to make total claims on its members' personalities, in order to gain their exclusive and undivided loyalty (Newby, 1977b;Coser, 1974).

The worker becomes materially dependent upon the company by participating in welfare schemes, such as housing and pension funds. His affiliation with company administered sporting and social clubs enables the company's control to become even more extensive, extending into the worker's social life. The company is, in this way, able to encompass all aspects of a worker's life. Enveloped in such a way he is unable to gain alternative interpretations of his situation and becomes ideologically dependent upon the moral judgements of his superiors. Thus, what is defined by the employer as a fair and free exchange, resulting in mutual benefits is, in fact, the exchange of welfare benefits for the worker's autonomy.

The employer is able to legitimate his own position by defining his power as service over those whom he has control. His own relative position and that of his employees are defined as given with each possessing reciprocal rights and obligations. The employer is thus able to convert a rigid and arbitrarilly controlled hierarchy into an 'organic' society of mutual and harmonious interdependency. The worker's dependency upon the company is ubiquitous thus any possible doubt as to his 'place' or the correctness of such a power structure is easily extinguished (Newby, 1977a 157). It is precisely by

defining this inequitable relationship as a fair and free exchange within a cooperative enterprise, that it becomes stabilised. Inequalities are seen as given, enabling stabilised patterns of privilege and control to be perpetuated virtually without challenge. Paternalism's power lies in the fact that, as the workers accept these mutual relationships and obligations as legitimate, the justification for these relationships increases in strength.

However, there is a gap in the theories of Paternalistic capitalism. While they are able to deal adequately with welfare as creating and perpetuating patterns of control, they neglect to deal with what motivates a worker to voluntarily exchange his autonomy for welfare benefits. A worker's participation in welfare does not necessarily result in the worker identifying with the employer. His participation may be devoid of any feeling of moral committment towards the employer (Lockwood et al, 1978). Therefore, in order to understand the successful operation as a means of control it is essential to see the link between welfare and the attitudes and experiences of Australian workers. The worker is more likely to identify with the employer if there is a congruence between the worker's orientations towards work and the mode of control utilised by the employer (Newby, 1977b:62).

In Australia, relative economic affluence has been the norm amongst the working class since at least 1900. Militant trade union action in the 1890's forced colonial governments to make economic concessions such as the minimum wage, factory acts and old age pensions. The

success of the workers' actions was partly due to the absence of entrenched conservative social forces, and partly to the employers' needs to entice labour in the face of a shortage.

It may be hypothesised that the paucity of large scale industry in Hobart prior to 1920 created a working class that was not socialised in the factory, but in a relatively affluent working class community. This community was based upon geographical stability, intimacy, concentration and a shared culture, yet did not possess the militant culture consciousness of a factory-based occupational community. Consequently, the Hobart worker was prepared to accept the deskilling and monotony of, automative production at Cadbury's in order to obtain high wages and material benefits. This propensity to accept work as a means to extrinsic ends can thus be understood as existing independently of and, prior to, this involvement in industry.

The worker's instrumental attitude made him willing to engage in the Cadbury's welfare schemes that offered distinct material benefits, such as housing and superannuation. This prior involvement in the intimate working class community made it easy for him to participate in company sporting and social clubs when the other participants were friends and kin already known to him. Even though a worker's prior orientation may have motivated his initial participation in welfare, once involved, Cadbury's control was able to extend into his social as well as working life.

The use of welfare as a means of social control cannot overshadow the fact that the initial impetus for welfare was largely idealistic, coming from the religious committments of the Quaker family of Cadbury. Quakerism dictated that the individual must renounce sinful attachment to the world and follow the guidance of his conscience to be amongst the saved. However, Christian observance could hardly be expected from those who had to battle for the necessities of life. The Cadburys, as a Quaker family, were confident that by providing welfare services they were not only following the dictates of their consciences, but were enabling their workers to take their places amongst the saved. Welfare not only fulfilled a religious purpose but was sound business. As well as being able to raise the worker's morals, it made him healthy, committed and efficient.

But, by the 1920's wider changes within industry and society in Britain made Quakerism appear inadequate as a means for justifying welfare and securing a cooperative and efficient workforce. In an effort to reconcile the strains and inconsistencies in their view of the world, the Cadburys turned to the New Liberalism, or Progressivism, as a programme for action. It was hoped that the application of welfare by trained managers along scientific lines would reform those aspects of capitalism that had morally stunted the worker and caused conflict. The worker would, as a result, become a better citizen, his efficiency within industry would be secured and harmony would result between the ideals of employer and employee. Welfare that had initially been applied to realise Quaker inspired ideas, now became a means to manipulate, scientifically and consciously,

the social relationships within the factory in order to avoid conflict and increase output.

In order to show the relationship between paternalism, Quakerism, Progressivism and the attitudes of and experiences of Australian workers as factors crucial for understanding welfare programmes at the Cadbury factory at Claremont, a number of historical documents and sources were examined. Chapter two examines the importance of Cadbury's Quaker utopian ideas in forming the welfare programmes that formed the basis of Bournville. Chapter three is concerned with the transformation of religious Quaker dogma into the secular ideology of Progressivism, and looks at the effects of this transformation on the nature and scope of welfare programmes. In chapter four consideration is given to the Tasmanian application of the ideas associated with Bournville, with special emphasis given to the characteristics of the local labour force. Finally chapter five offers the conclusions of the study concerning the principles and social consequences of welfare at Cadburys, Claremont.

CHAPTER TWO

BOURNVILLE: A UTOPIAN EXPERIMENT

Bournville, as a self-contained garden city, marked the religious continuation of a distinctively British utopian tradition characterised by the thought of Robert Owen. Its distinctiveness lay in its credence that a return to an agrarian society would enable the individual to realise all his capacities and thus elevate society to a higher state. Robert Owen's initial utopian schemes were put into operation at his New Lanark cotton mills between 1800-12. When Owen took over management of the mill he found a working community already in existence, with housing provided for families of good moral character. He was, nevertheless, faced with drunkeness and slothful habits despite the harsh regimen of the factory system. Owen believed moral conduct could be inculcated by systematic training leading to habit formation, since all men were equally capable of listening to the voice of reason and argument. Within his factory he reasoned his workers out of drunkeness and irregular habits by reprimanding them, and in this way strengthened discipline and increased productivity.

Owen's first fully fledged utopian plan was outlined in 1817. He proposed the formation of self-sustaining communities of unemployed workers, whom he thought were victims of the social environment. In these villages the opportunity was provided to reform the indigent by altering the environment. It afforded the philanthropist an opportunity to remould the poor as if they were children and in such a way that they would be able to imagine no other way of life. This

programme could be instituted with the least possible disturbance to economic relations. Even if men could not grasp these rational ideas, New Lanark provided an empirical demonstration of the truth of the system and its dominant idea.

By 1849 Owen's utopian thought reached its final embodiment in the so called 'rectangular townships'. These settlements were based on the common cultivation of land. They were to serve as an agent of the creative power of God in maintaining universal harmony. Harmony could not be achieved without equality which meant the fulfilment of a variety of character, not the imposition of uniformity. Perfect equality through life was the only foundation for a certain bond of union among men, and an elevated state of society (Manuel and Manuel:1979).

Owenism presented a ferment of ideas many of which found their way into religious and secular movements in the nineteenth century. Its communitarianism was a challenge to a society in which community values had been weakened by an emphasis upon individual enterprise, self help and competition. The appeal of social and economic organisation on a cooperative basis was that it offered a plan for social change that was radical, peaceful and immediate. One of the most prominent continuations of utopian socialism was accomplished by the Quaker movement and especially by the Cadbury family.

George Cadbury believed the wealth of a nation lay in the life of its people. It must be sound at heart or it should fall as did the Roman Empire because of demoralisation at the centre. Life was

perishing under the onslaught of industrialisation. It had degraded human life through long hours, low wages, loss of morals, loss of health, loss of faith and most importantly loss of efficiency. Comfortless homes and depressed physical energy had caused poverty and drinking, deadening all desire for improvement in the worker. The workers' social environment reflected their mood and physical degradation and could only be corrected by exposure to the vitalising effect of improved moral and material conditions (Gardiner, 1923: vii; Bournville Works Magazine, 1908: 140; Gardiner, 1923: 95; Cadbury, 1908: 57-64).

According to George Cadbury, social justice or socialism which aimed at reform on a purely material basis culminating in the abolition of poverty and the equalising of conditions of life, was as inadequate a remedy to England's condition as a purely spiritual solution. If social reform was to be fundamental and everlasting it must be charged with a religious enthusiasm. A true solution to social problems called for material and spiritual solutions (Gardiner, 1923: 197-8). The factory system was perceived as essential to society as it then existed. In lieu of reforming patterns of distribution, the Cadburys believed in reforming the individual within society.

The Cadbury's Quakerism was a religious version of Owen's ideas. It offered them a programme with which to remould their workers, in a reformed environment, into correct habits in order to achieve their aim of increased productivity. George Cadbury believed that salvation

was offered to all men; it came by individual revelation through the working of the Divine Spirit. A sincere repudiation of the world and its interests and unconditional submission to God as speaking through the conscience were the only true signs of rebirth. Refusal of the offer of salvation showed a man who had chosen not to follow the Divine Spirit or inner reason due to sinful attachment to the world (Weber, 1976).

The working of heaven was not the Cadburys' concern. Their concern lay in the spreading of heaven. But how could a man forego sinful attachment to the world when his home was a slum and his only possible place of recreation a public house? The solution lay in providing improved industrial conditions and welfare facilities. These material benefits would enable the worker to rise above mere subsistence. His life would have a loftier aim and deeper significance and, as a result, the worker would be provided with the opportunity to take his place amongst the saved. Thus, the significance for the Cadburys in providing welfare was that it represented more than the mere satisfaction of personal wants. At the same time welfare was in the best of business interest, for by increasing the workers' physical efficiency it also increased business efficiency. Nevertheless, welfare provided the Cadburys with the reassuring knowledge that in performing these good works they were following the dictates of their conscience and could therefore count themselves as amongst the reborn (Bartlett, 1960: 80; Gardiner, 1923: 481).

Bournville was thought of as an application of these ideas, as a social experiment. George Cadbury perceived that if welfare was to be adopted within the wider industrial sphere it had to be thought of not as religiously influenced fantasy but as sound business. Bournville would be visible proof that the appeal of improved factory conditions and welfare did not lie in sentiment but in sound economics (Gardiner, 1923: 95). The value of Bournville was that the problems were handled by the employers themselves. As in the instance of Robert Owen and New Lanark, the Cadburys hoped that Bournville would provide the whole nation with inspirational ideas and the experience upon which it could engage in wider social reform. Within this business enterprise the Cadburys wanted to establish a feeling of sympathy and cooperation with the workers similar to the 'old family feeling' of pre-industrial times. But paternalism was not equated with the provision of welfare alone. Paternalism was expressed visibly in the relationship between management and the worker (Scott, 1955: 89).

The Cadburys' crusade to restore the industrial world to its old healthful contact with natural things began in 1879 when George Cadbury's cocoa and chocolate business outgrew its premises in Birmingham. The decision was made to relocate the factory in the rural isolation of Bournville four miles from Birmingham. The Bournville housing scheme was a necessity to ensure an adequate supply of labour for the factory. This utilitarian aspect was combined with an Owenite idealistic desire to raise the worker's

moral and physical standards of health with a vision of bucolic England. The housing provided was along model lines. The houses were built to allow the greatest possible circulation of air and sunshine and were of varying design and irregular block placement, to avoid visual monotony. They were endowed with fruit trees as recognition of the economic value and healthy recreation a garden could provide (Gardiner, 1923: 148-9). (Figure 1)

The community that grew around the factory was not restricted only to Cadbury employees. Social mix was seen as desirable. Efforts were made so that the community would be as mixed as possible in terms of interests, character, income and social class. Bournville was planned to incorporate houses of different values and types in the same street. It was thought that a spirit of emulation nurtured in the working class would raise their standards and prevent them from sinking into the 'submerged mass' or 'residue' (Bournville Village Trustees, 1955: 18; Williams, 1931: 235; Gardiner, 1923: 148).

Social mix placed the Cadbury employees' work orientations in a wider social context. The differential standards of housing reflected the stratification system within the factory. It formed a visible hierarchy of power and economic resources. Within such a closed community, and in close contact with management through social mix, the workers' participation in welfare such as housing was taken for granted as was the status hierarchy in which he participated. The worker ensured the community's continuation within it and was, so to speak, a 'founding member'. The worker thus deferred to the tradition of welfare and the community.

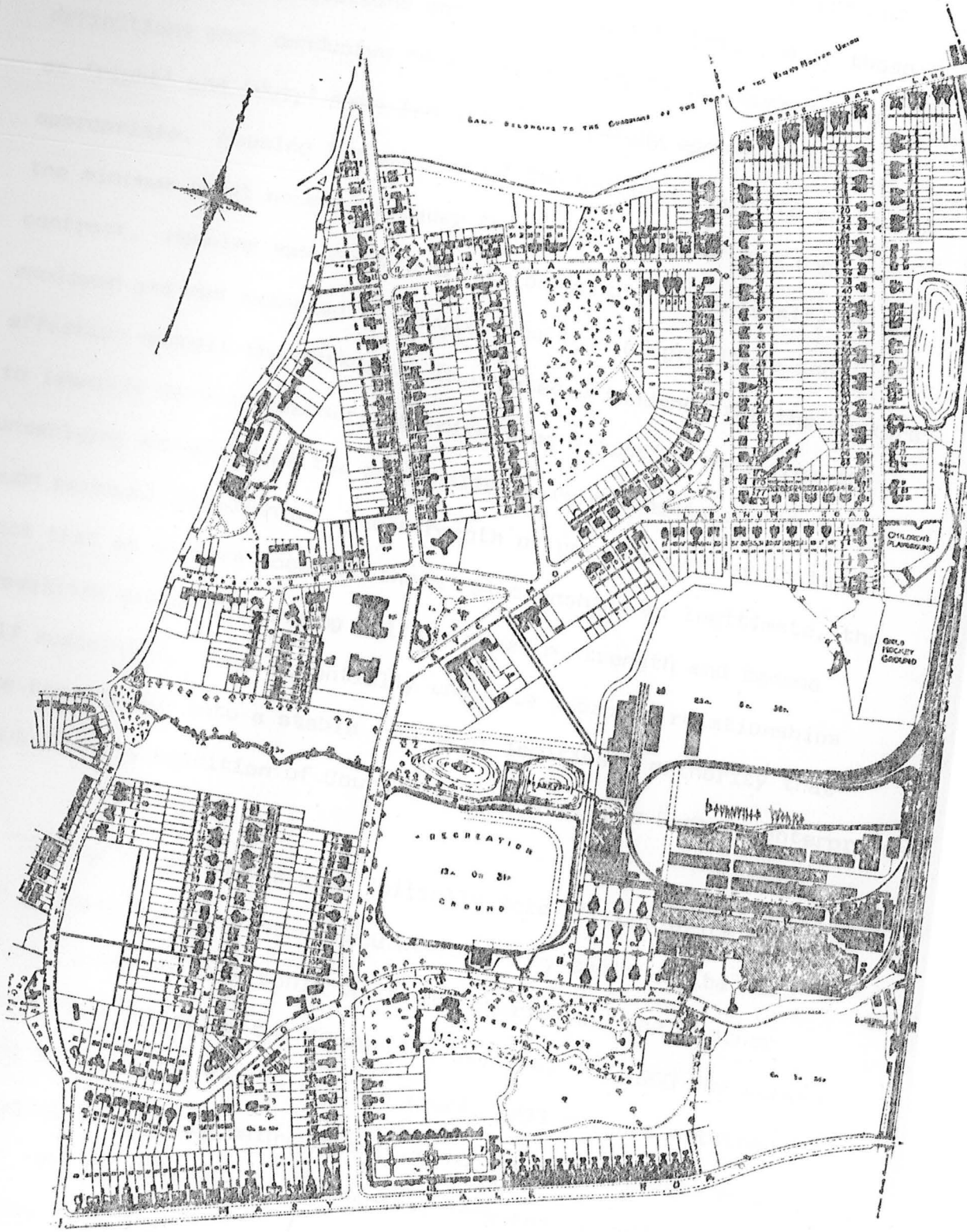

Figure 1
Bournville - 1901

(Cherry: 1974)

As well as deferring to the tradition of the community, the worker defered to the Cadburys' personal authority. The lack of alternative interpretations and their personal promotion of those definitions most conducive to reinforcing their legitimacy such as 'right' and 'duty' made the status heirarchy appear more appropriate. Housing formed part of the Cadburys' duty to go beyond the minimum level necessary under the agreed terms of the wage contract. Housing was, therefore, attributed to the generosity of the employer and was expected to involve feelings of gratitude and affection amongst the workers. It created a tendency for the workers to identify with the Cadburys by directing attention away from the underlying structure of the paternalistic relationship and towards such personal judgements. The strength of paternalism lay in the fact that as workers accepted these relationships as legitimate, the prevailing ethos surrounding welfare grew in strength and became self sustaining. Thus potentially unstable coercive relationships were transformed into a stable system of legitimate authority that resided in the tradition of Bournville and the other Cadbury enterprises.

The Bournville houses were initially sold at cost price on a 999 year lease to discourage speculators. They could not be sold below cost price as this would be deemed charity and deter other employers from following the Bournville example. In 1900 the estate was made into the Bournville Village Trust. All revenue obtained was to be automatically reinvested in model housing. Tenants were to pay a rent of four percent on capital invested, resulting in predictions that the

high level of rents would cause a mass exodus from Bournville (Bournville Village Trust, 1955). It can be reasonably suggested that by calculating what the workers should pay rather than what they could pay, even the lowest rents were beyond the means of the poor, whom they were designed to help.

The Cadburys' activities as housing reformers cannot be divorced from their activities as an employer. Their attempts at housing reform must be seen as related to their efforts to humanise industry through high wages and good industrial conditions. A worker who was over worked and underfed would not participate in welfare schemes, including housing, that were aimed at improving efficiency (Cadbury, 1912: 1).

The Cadburys realised that their attempts to humanise industry had made them into attractive employers. They were, therefore, able to apply rigorous entry requirements. The criteria for entry were based upon education, general tone and character and physical efficiency (Cadbury, 1912: 1-3). Selection of employees was on capacity, not on level of poverty or distress. The worker would therefore be encouraged to raise himself in order to gain employment. It was thought this would foster and uphold his self respect. Whilst Cadburys were desirous of raising the slum dweller, as in the instance of housing, the very qualities they demanded excluded this class. Casual labour did not give the worker the money to move into Bournville housing and raise himself, whilst slum dwelling was not conducive to the good character and efficiency required for working

in the factory. Thus, whilst preaching reform of environment to reform the man, the Cadburys actually demanded a reformed man to go into the reformed environment.

Nevertheless, once in the employ of Cadburys the worker was in a position to accrue considerable benefits from welfare services. The workers were provided a doctor, dentist and subsidised meals. They were provided with sickness, death, old age and unemployment benefits (Williams, 1931). The recreation facilities offered were impressive. They included football, hockey and cricket grounds, bowling greens, netball and tennis courts, gardens and swimming baths. Swimming was not only healthy recreation but it ensured the cleanliness of the employees, a most desirable quality in the food production industry.

In their concern with the development of a total worker the moral health of their workers was as important as their physical health. Every precaution was taken to avoid the grave moral danger that was thought to arise from indiscriminate mixing of youths of both sexes in factories (Cadbury, 1912: 253). Married women were not employed as it was felt this would have the undesirable effect of making their husbands indolent through living on their wives' wages (Gardiner, 1923: 31). As well, women would be unable to devote proper care to the home and children upon which the future strength of Britain was thought to be based.

Cadburys provided amongst their welfare provisions a large number of sporting clubs. Some were in a cultural vein including the Dramatic Society, Musical Society and Choral Society, a Silver Band and a Folk Dance Society. Sporting clubs were organised separately, presumably to guard against possible moral danger, while more divergent interests were catered for by the Garden Club and Works Model Yacht Club (Williams, 1931). It is possible that within such clubs employees' work orientations were placed within a wider social context. The allocation of status was able to take part through interactional mechanisms. Through close acquaintance people gained a detailed knowledge of each other's personal qualities and could have applied relatively strict criteria in deciding who was worthy of membership to a particular status group within the community. But it must be remembered that in a self contained community such as Bournville and with a lack of alternative interpretations it was the Cadburys who defined the status criteria. The consensus reached, or rather imposed, during interaction enabled the workers to regard their lowly position less as an injustice than as a necessary part of a natural system of inequality.

The Cadburys believed that when a community is dependent upon a large works situated in its midst it seemed natural their social life should focus around this centre. Little objection could be raised providing that no coercive attitude was assumed by the company and the institutions were allowed to develop naturally to meet the needs explicitly expressed by the workers (Cadbury, 1912: 260).

As far as the Cadburys were concerned the worker's participation in welfare was voluntary and natural. It was an association from which they could both benefit.

Bournville was visible proof that business efficiency and the employees' welfare were not opposing principles. It was thought of as a charmed circle beyond which lay conflict and disorder. Conditions in Bournville were so good that trade unionism languished. Children born in Bournville were several pounds heavier and several inches taller on average than the children in the Floodgate area - a very poor area in Birmingham. Although it was impossible to calculate the moral effects of Bournville, a larger proportion of Bournville residents attended church than in working class suburbs. 'Coming into touch with Nature, brings men into closer touch with Nature's God'(Gardiner, 1923: 112, 155, 171). It appears that the inhabitants of Bournville were indeed created in the Cadbury's mould.

The Bournville experiment was to prove that religiously inspired welfare was compatible with sound business principles and valuable as a means of social control. This was due to the ability of welfare to create a structural framework through which the Cadburys were able to control the selection of workers and then envelope their social and working lives. In this way, the Cadburys were able to gain control over informal associations within the factory, and over the workers' definitions of the situation. They imposed their dominant value system which acted as a moral framework promoting the endorsement of

existing inequality. The social order was then viewed as an organic entity in which each individual ha a proper part to play. In this centrally inculcated ideology of subordination, inequality was seen as inevitable (Parkin, 1978). Thus the paternalism of the Cadbury family represented organised ideological control that resulted in the moral attachment of the worker to the company and greater business efficiency.

CHAPTER THREE

PROGRESSIVISM: A SECULAR EVANGELISM

In the period up until 1920, structural changes within industry were perceived by the Cadburys as having produced industrial conflict and social disturbance. Within the context of wider societal trends towards secularisation, Quakerism became less efficient as an ideology justifying paternalism and moral betterment through welfare provisions. Progressivism, or the New Liberalism, provided a better rationale for welfare provisions, and a means for securing a committed and efficient workforce. The Cadburys had become secular evangelists.

The Cadburys felt obliged to produce rational and acceptable explanations of their practices that were acceptable to themselves and others. These explanations had to be sufficiently reflective of their interests to maintain a minimum level of 'moral' attachment on the part of the workers (Newby et al, 1978: 278-9). In order to make this point clearer it is useful to distinguish between the related concepts of social imagery and ideology. Class imagery is referred to by Lockwood as an image of society that had a certain concreteness. It is the sum of what the individual knows about the world as a result of his ongoing lived experiences within it. It is rarely coherent, and is usually taken for granted. Ideologies, on the other hand, represent readily available explanatory systems which are evolved outside the individual's everyday lived experiences, but comes to be applied to the explanations of these experiences. Hence ideologies represent external systems of ascribed beliefs which come

to be applied to concrete social situations ex post facto as explanations or justifications (Newby et al, 1978: 280).

Welfare services can be seen as forming the basis of the social imagery of both the Cadburys and their workforce insofar as it was concrete and experienced in everyday life. Indeed it encompassed almost every aspect of the workers' life. But broader changes in society had caused Quakerism, with its emphasis upon morality, to become irrelevant as an ideology justifying welfare. The wealth acquired by many Protestants in the pursuit of a calling had a secularising effect. The intense search for the Kingdom of God became transformed into the ideology of rational capitalism and conduct became oriented towards rationally calculable principles. The individual was no longer guided by mysterious forces, but knew that in principle he could master all things by calculation.

Whilst it is not possible to specify all the factors involved in such a reorientation, a partial explanation can be provided by certain changes that occurred within society and the Cadburys' perception of these changes. There were signs in Britain that the working class was becoming more unsettled. Between 1890-1911 trade-union membership reached two million, doubling between 1911-13 to reach four million. This was probably due to the decline in real incomes which had stopped improving around 1900-14 (Hobsbawm, 1979: 159-65).

However, the Cadbury management did not perceive low wages as causing industrial unrest, but looked upon the deskilling, monotony

and increasing division of labour within industry as the principal reasons. It was felt that the subdivision of processes had been carried to such an extent that there was a narrowing of interest whilst automatic machinery had almost dominated any demand for initiative and adaption (Cadbury, 1913: 6). These changes were held at least partly responsible for the lack of moral committment and subsequent industrial unrest that had caused a loss of efficiency and lowering of output.

But the growth in scale of industry and subsequent separation of ownership and control had created a new managerial stratum. The administration of capitalism came to rest increasingly upon this stratum. This was to be especially relevant to the Australian situation where the lack of any personal influence of the Cadbury family, meant that responsibility for the factory rested almost wholly in the hands of managers. Their scientific training and expertise was largely to justify whatever steps were needed to secure the workers' efficiency within industry.

The authority and expertise of managers was first used in an attempt to secure greater efficiency and output by the exponents of Scientific Management or Taylorism. The manager's role was to take the knowledge formerly possessed by the worker, develop a science for each aspect of a man's work and then supervise its application. The incentive for the worker to participate in such a scheme and work more quickly lay in high wages that were 'scientifically' determined (Cadbury, 1913).

Taylorism represented the bureaucratisation of control. It was organisation bound by rules that sought to introduce a systematic division of labour and work performances governed by 'scientifically' determined rules. It tried to break the power of work teams by pressure and an appeal to individual ambition (Littler, 1978). It attempted to increase output and avoid industrial conflict by atomising the workforce.

Although Cadburys adopted Taylorism within Bournville, they felt that, unmediated by the beneficial and unifying effects of welfare, it had deleterious effects upon both the individual and society. Unadulterated Taylorism had further fragmented and deskilled labour, produced even greater monotony and nervous strain for the worker and had paved the way for 'deterioration both mental and physical in a future generation'. For these reasons it was thought to be doubtful whether pure Taylorism represented a 'step towards economic progress from a national point of view' (Cadbury, 1913: 4-5).

The Cadbury family as directors adopted instead the New Liberalism or Progressivism as their programme for action. Its advocacy had, to a certain extent, been anticipated by some of the tenets of Quakerism. As with Quakerism, Progressivism provided the Cadburys with an overreaching,morally-prescriptive,philosophy that was able to breach laissez-faire theories by preaching of employers' rights and duties. It enabled the Cadburys to view their particular brand of human relations not as dogma but as a statement of the practical and theoretical developments that resulted from the logic of events

(Cadbury, 1912: 271). Progressivism therefore, acted as an ideology insofar as it was an explanatory framework applied to justify the continuation of welfare within Bournville as it then existed.

The Cadburys, as Progressives, believed that Britain could only take the lead amongst nations and retain her world supremacy by treating the subject of efficiency scientifically (Cadbury, 1912: 13). The adherence of all sections of society to a modern democratic system was taken as showing that that society was ruled by a 'spirit of solidarity' or consensus (Cadbury, 1913: 8). Efficiency should, therefore, logically be a national concern. The efficiency of the employees and the firm had a wider civic value insofar as the firm was a unit of the national industry organisation (Cadbury, 1912: 10). The Cadburys' interest in efficiency became equated with national efficiency. Efficiency was, therefore, not only the concern of the Cadburys but the duty of the worker. A sectoral interest thus became identified with national interest, forming a basis upon which the Cadburys and their workers could cooperate.

If the employees were led and not driven as in the case of Taylorism they could consciously cooperate with the management in working for a common end (Cadbury, 1912: 69). The worker had to recognise that the welfare of employer and employee were not antagonistic but complementary, with each position possessing certain duties and rights. It was the Cadburys' right as an employer to lead and the employees' duty to follow.

Industrial conflict was thought to be an expression of the worker's demand for greater control over the condition of his own life. The solution lay in treating the worker and his personality as ends in themselves (Cadbury, 1913: 7-8). Business efficiency depended not only upon the physical condition of the employee but upon his general feeling and attitude towards the employer. In order to increase output and prevent conflict, the worker had to be induced to take a positive interest in the welfare of the company, and to feel that their work and personality counted. The identity of interest between employer and employee could be emphasised and the good will and efficiency of employees fostered by taking into account the workers depreivation and human nature (Cadbury, 1912: 11; Cadbury, 1913: 9). Whereas Taylorism attempted to increase output and reduce conflict by fragmenting the workforce, the Cadbury management tried to achieve the same ends by unifying the workforce through the assertion of a common purpose.

Welfare became the visible manifestation of this programme. The motivation behind welfare had changed. Sporting clubs and other such company run leisure activities were no longer justified in terms of their contribution towards the workers' physical and moral health. Their role was now to alleviate the monotony of modern production. In an attempt to give the workers control over the administration of the factory, Works Councils were introduced in 1917, replacing the wholly management run Works Committees. The non-monetary benefits provided by the company such as housing and

pensions were no longer rationalised solely in terms of morally uplifting the worker. They were now perceived in terms of alleviating the workers' low material standards that could obscure the community of interest that existed between employer and employee and allowed the vagaries of the workers' personalities to take control. Welfare could create harmony between the ideals of employers and employees. It would secure the workers' efficiency within industry whilst enabling the worker to play his part as 'an intelligent and capable citizen' (Cadbury, 1913: 9).

Welfare was perceived almost solely in terms of its contribution towards business efficiency. It was offered as part of the employment package in expectation of the employees' moral committment. Scientifically administered, the welfare schemes offered Cadburys a means by which they could manipulate the employees.

Progressivism, as a justification for welfare, was easily adapted by the Cadburys as it was largely congruent with the beliefs and values that comprised their social image. But the Bournville workers' acceptance of Progressivism was more problematic. There was no inherent reason why an ideology such as Progressivism, made up of fairly limited abstract and 'ascribed' beliefs, should have been identical with a class imagery which was more diffuse and spontaneously acquired by the individual's everyday life experience. Yet Progressivism, with its emphasis on national efficiency and science, lay outside the worker's immediate lived experience (Newby et al, 1978: 281). It may, therefore, be assumed that its source lay

partly in beliefs generated by the Cadburys and transmitted to the workers and partly in the attitudes of the workers.

Whilst Progressivism as an ideology may have conflicted with the workers' social image it must be remembered that in the case of the Cadbury workers at Bournville the social construction of reality occurred within a pre-existing context, that is, within a self contained community structured by the workers' participation in welfare. The production of social imagery at Bournville was in this way a dynamic process contained within the confines of the Cadburys' hegemonic system of core beliefs. The workers therefore had no choice within such a situation, but to accept the dictates of the Cadburys.

CHAPTER FOUR

CLAREMONT: AN ANTIPODEAN VENTURE

The Cadbury factory at Claremont was initially hailed as the Australian Bournville. It was, to an extent, a continuation of the Bournville Quaker tradition but the main ideology in forming it was Progressivism, manifesting itself in the Cadbury's particular brand of human relations. It was amongst the forefront regarding welfare in Australia (Council of Science and Industry, Bulletin no.17, 1920).

This ideological ambivalence was to a certain degree reflected in the Bournville directors' choice of Australian directors. William and Thomas Cooper were both British born Quakers who had managed Cadbury's affairs in Australia for upwards of thirty years. Their colleagues were Arthur Hackett and F.H. Colleyshaw who were also British born but were representative of the newer vein of secular managers. Their duty was to administer the principles supplied to them by the British based Australian Committee. Claremont was literally a British factory, directed by British based directors and administrators transported onto Australian soil.

Hobart offered the best opportunity for the establishment of a garden factory along Bournville lines. It was taken for granted that the sacrifice for the Bournville ideal should not be too great, that is, idealism should not be allowed to interfere with profit (W. Cooper to Cadbury Bros. 17 Sept. 1918, Board Meetings File, 1924). It was in the pursuit of this end that the appeal of Hobart's amenable

labour force lay. The Cadburys had acknowledged the link between Bournville's isolation and welfare leading to a committed and efficient workforce (Cadbury 1912, Cadbury 1913). The Australian directors were advised that, if possible, the factory should be placed in a small town or self-contained community as these possessed an 'atmosphere and spirit that was conducive to harmonious working'. Furthermore,it should be placed away from the docks as the disruptive ideas of the dock workers would prevent an equable labour atmosphere (G. Cadbury Jr., 6 Aug. 1919, Board Meeting File, 1924).

The effects of Tasmania's lack of large-scale, secondary industry had been to produce a labour force lacking in any tradition of radicalism. This tendency had been further reinforced by geographical isolation which had prevented workers from coming into contact with the more radical labour ideas and organisations of mainland Australia. It was because of these reasons that, in the strike-prone and unsettled period following World War I, Tasmania was judged to possess a more settled, amenable and unsophisticated labour force with the possibility of greater output per man hour. As well, it had a greater supply of unskilled labour, lower wages, (Appendix I), cheap hydro-electric power, a temperate climate and adequate water supply necessary for refrigeration purposes. These factors were thought by the Bournville directors to be worth more in incalculable terms than an estimated £10,000 in freight costs that could be saved by siting the factory in Melbourne (Board Meeting Minutes File Jan.1920 to Dec.1921, Jan. to Dec. 1923).

The Bournville directors hoped to magnify these tendencies by further isolating their workers in a self contained village at Claremont, eight and one-half miles from Hobart. In taking this decision they were confident of their ability to attract labour especially at such a time of labour shortage. The solution was to offer welfare in the form of housing and other benefits, as part of the employment contract. Welfare was now to be used as a means to attract workers and morally bind them to the company, than as a means to religious ends as had originally been the case at Bournville.

But the offer of welfare does not necessarily guarantee worker participation as the studies of the privatised-instrumental worker illustrated (Goldthorpe et al, 1978). In order to understand what motivated Australian workers to enter into Cadbury's employ and participate in their welfare schemes it is necessary to take into account the workers' attitudes that emerged in the process of industrialisation.

F.W. Eggleston's concept of the self-contained man provided a useful basis for analysis of worker attitudes. The self-contained man was thought to be found in the highly developed suburbs of an Australian city. He possessed good accommodation, a nice garden, a back yard and a fence against intrusion. He felt he was not a victim of circumstance but could exercise a power of choice which manifest itself in belligerence towards those in authority. The proletarian, had surrendered himself to the indefinite, impersonal, and self-contained individualism (Eggleston, 1932: 330-1).

Embourgeoisement had caused such a worker to put aside any thoughts of wider social change in favour of individual betterment.

The Australian workers' relative affluence had been gained through a shortage of labour, sustained militant trade union activity in the 1890's and by increasing government intervention in economic relationships. The militant demands of trade unionism and labour shortage, had pressured colonial governments into passing industrial arbitration acts, factory acts and old age pension acts. Arbitration was implemented as a means of disarming and controlling militant trade unionism without continuous resort to industrial warfare. But, as developed by the Commonwealth, it was linked with the new protective legislation in an attempt to distribute between workers and employers the product of a protected economy (Gollan,1970: 152). The benefits flowing to the worker from a capitalist economy were such that he neither acted nor desired to change such a system. He was content to extract what benefits he could from such a system.

The traditional proletarian worker usually experienced a high degree of job involvement and strong attachment to primary work groups. These primary groups of workmates were usually leisure time companions, often neighbours and not infrequently kin. This communal sociability created a high moral density and reinforced sentiments of belongingness to a work-dominated collectivity (Lockwood, 1966). But the lack of large scale secondary industry in Hobart and consequent variety of occupational experiences prevented the formation of such a factory-

based occupational community. Instead, the worker was socialised in a small-scale, materially-affluent, working-class, community based upon geographic concentration, stability, intimacy and a shared culture. It was orientations developed in this context that were taken to the work situation and were conducive for Cadbury's ideology and design.

The conditions of work are always mediated through the meaning that men give to their work, and through their definitions of the work situation. These meanings and definitions vary with the particular sets of wants and expectations that men bring to their employment. The privatised-instrumental worker is attracted to his present employment by the offer of high wages, security of employment and the extent of welfare and other fringe-benefits. He resides in a community characterised by geographically mobile heterogeneous populations. Unrelated by the ascriptive ties of kinship, longstanding neighbourliness and shared work experience, the workers tend to be privitised, that is exhibit a pattern of social life that is centred upon, and largely restricted to, the home and conjugal family. Work of a stressful nature is undertaken essentially as a means to the pursuit of ends outside of work and usually related to standards of domestic living. They chose to give overriding emphasis to the instrumental aspects of work and therefore, in effect, devalue its other aspects such as the creation of social relationships. Their propensity to accept work as essentially a means to extrinsic ends can be understood as existing independently of, and prior to, their involvement in their present work situation (Goldthorpe et al, 1978).

Cadburys made themselves into attractive employers by offering welfare schemes that appealed to the Hobart worker's instrumental orientations. The attitudes towards work prevalent amongst the local labour force had been mediated by his participation in an affluent working class community. The workers consciously chose to accept the monotony and deskilling of automative production at Cadburys to gain the benefits of welfare and thereby improve their standard of living within the community. The Hobart worker also showed a propensity to participate in the sporting and social clubs offered by Cadburys, but his attitudes made him unwilling to engage in social relationships within the factory. His prior involvement in an intimate working class community made it easier for him to become involved in such social relationships, as he was already familiar with at least some of the other participants. Whereas the traditional proletarian worker carried values and relationships from the factory to the community. The Hobart worker was, to a certain extent, more similar to the privatised-instrumental worker insofar as he carried norms and relationships from the community to the factory.

A Bournville in Hobart

The planning of the village at Claremont was thought to be secondary in importance only to the planning of the factory. But the Bournville directors were unrealistic and ignorant in their views of conditions in Tasmania. Tasmania was thought of as the Antipodes where the 'primeval calm was yet undisturbed by the syncopated clamour of modern industry' and visualised as 'rising out of the virgin forests

the genesis of peaceful garden cities that surround droning factories from which ... pour endless streams of quarter-pound tins' (L.J. Cadbury to A. Hackett, 31 May, 1920, Board Meetings Minute File, 1924). It was with visions such as these that the Bournville directors guided the development at Claremont.

The Australian directors laid the initial outlines for the village making provisions for a 'Civic Centre', public buildings and shops. True to their Quaker beliefs, 'no public houses or any objectionable trades were to be permitted'. Charles Reade, the South Australian town planner, was then contacted to plan Claremont. In true Progressive style Reade recommended that an efficient and economical plan of development was necessary. It must secure all the advantages and attractions of a modern industrial village at the least cost combined with a skilled adaption of cottage design to local climate, costs, customs and conditions. Reade recommended that a Bournville architect work with local planner Scott-Griffiths in order to get 'improved and at the same time more economical results in housing the worker in Australia and creating conditions favourable for the acceptance of welfare work and supervision outside the factory as well as within ...' (C. Reade to W. Cooper, 17 Sept, 1920, Board Meeting Minute File Jan. 1920 to Dec. 1921, Jan. to Dec. 1923). Clearly, housing was seen as integral to the wholesale success of welfare as a means of control.

Reade later recommended that, to preserve and control the area until complete development had taken place, some authority must be retained by the owners, and that unless the company intended to develop the area themselves a cooperative and administrative trust should be

founded. He emphasised that both housing conditions and worker demands in Australia were very different from those in England and that this difference in conditions was so marked that the widest adaptation of any successful methods in Britain should be practised (Reade to Cadbury Bros. 16/11/20 Board Meeting Minutes File Jan. 1920 to Dec. 1921, Jan. to Dec. 1923). This awareness of Australian conditions and plea for flexibility was one that was sorely ignored by the Bournville directors.

The Cadbury directors were very conscious of the cost of such a venture as that planned at Claremont and urged the Australian directors to keep down their overhead charges. The efficiency and ideals of a factory were not thought to be dependent upon the amount of money spent upon welfare schemes but upon the spirit in which the factory was run. In this respect, scientific management and less expensive welfare schemes were thought to be more important than costly housing. With this in mind the Australian directors believed Reade had a somewhat exaggerated idea of the greatness and importance of the local community, and decided that, for the moment, they would only concern themselves with parts of the plan that needed their immediate attention. However, in trying to follow Reade's plan they found themselves constantly striking problems. They, therefore, contacted Reade's successor, Captain Earle. It was his modified plan that was followed(Figure 2) (E. Cadbury to T.E. Cooper 24 April 1922, C-F-P Committee Minutes).

However, even this tempered idealism involved in Claremont was rapidly waning in the face of heavy expense. The difficulties involved in getting an economic rent from the houses erected specifically for their British employees (Plate 1) showed the impossibility of the new company erecting a sufficient number of company financed houses at Claremont for the local population. The directors were torn between their responsibility to hold and develop the estate themselves and the rational calculating side of business which dictated they should minimisetheir losses and sell the land subject to various restrictions which 'would conserve our interests and which could be arranged to a very large extent to express the ideas we hold in town planning'. Assured that leasehold was not the form of holding preferred in Australia, it was decided that the company should build the first twelve houses. This would encourage workers to build their own cottages which would cause land prices to rise. When the second Bournville was in working order, the company would be able to sell land at a profitable rate (T. Cooper to Bournville 8 June 1921, Board Meetings Minute file Jan. 1920 to Dec. 1921, Jan. to Dec. 1923).

However, by 1923 no land had been sold. It was suggested that Cadburys adopt a loan scheme similar to that in operation at Electrolytic Zinc (E.Z.) Co. to encourage employees to build at Claremont. In the meantime Bournville decided to defer the home building scheme for one year, until late 1924 when it was decided to operate a scheme similar to that at Bournville and E.Z. offering favourable rates of interest to those who wished to build upon the peninsula (T.F. Cooper to C.F.P. Committee, 15 Oct. 1923, Private and Confidential Information for Australia, Second file, 28/8/21 Board Minutes and Index, 1924).

Workers' Cottages - 1922

It would appear that the Bournville directors were completely ignorant of the incompatibility between certain of their principles and conditions in Australia. Even given the high cost of erecting houses in Australia, the Cadbury maxim that welfare was not charity but sound business made them unwilling to subsidise worker housing. Their belief that welfare must be run on sound economic principles, that is, it must be profitable, prevented the formation of a Bournville in Hobart. The monetary terms on which Cadburys offered their housing were not generous enough to appeal to the workers' instrumental attitudes and induce them to break the bonds binding them to the working class community to move to Claremont. The incongruence between certain of the Cadbury attitudes and those of the Australian workers had consequences they did not, or could not, anticipate; namely, the Australian workers' refusal to participate in Cadbury housing schemes. But despite the absence of a village around the works, the other welfare schemes offered sufficient benefits to entice the worker to participate. It was in this way Cadburys were able to encompass the worker and gain his moral committment.

Cadburys still felt it was their duty, to a limited extent, to watch over the morals of their employees. Married women were not employed in the factory, whilst on the workers' train to Claremont the men were to sit in the back carriages and the women in the front, this division being supervised by a spinster forewoman (B. A. Wells, Interview). They felt it was their duty to provide for the religious and recreational needs of the thirty or so British technicians and

managers who they were taking out and settling down in a place where 'no or few opportunities for social or religious intercourse exist'. The Quakers who lived on the Claremont estate felt the need to establish a Friends meeting house which they hoped would revitalise the failing Quaker tradition. It would also prove to be a boon to the village insofar as it could also be used as an adult school in the Bournville tradition. This awareness of the isolation of Claremont from the entertainments and conveniences of the town prompted Cadburys to provide as one of the first welfare provisions a social hall complete with billiards room, reading room and a dancing or lecture room (W. Cooper to E. Cadbury 29 January 1921, letter to Cooper 17 Sept. 1923, C.F.P. Committee Meetings 19 March 1923).

As early as 1922 sporting teams were being formed, encouragement was given to employees to attend technical classes and a works doctor was in evidence. Doubts were expressed as to whether the success of these clubs would be hampered by so many of the workers living away from the factory. In spite of this,Dramatic, Musical and Camera Clubs and a library were operating by 1923. In 1924 the Sick Benefit Scheme, a Suggestion Scheme, a Distress Fund and a picnic started (Minute, 139, Board Minutes and Index 1924; Colleyshaw to W. Cadbury 1 Oct. 1923 Private and Confidential Information for Australia).

Scientific Welfare

Welfare was judged to be of sufficient importance by the Australian directors to consult and later appoint A.W. Hutchins;E.Z.'s industrial officer. Hutchins was the archetypal Progressive; a disinterested expert whose role was to formulate a welfare policy along scientific

and disinterested lines.

An industrial policy was thought to be necessary to secure the capital invested and the future of the industry from the disintegrating influences brought to bear by militant trade union officials. In order to nullify these influences, Hutchins suggested a common meeting ground between employee and employer might be found in the direction of sickness and accident arrangements and suitable sports.

Welfare was to play the same integrating role as at Bournville. It was to emphasise that the interests of employer and employee were not antagonistic but complementary. The employer was to demonstrate this by venturing beyond the wage contract and providing welfare. This was looked upon by employees as attributable to the employers' generosity, and was expected to invoke feelings of gratitude and moral committment from the workers. In this way, the Cadbury company was able to define its power as a service to employees. Thus, the relative position of the Cadbury company with regard to its workers became defined as given with each possessing reciprocal rights and obligations, that is, an organic unity of mutual and harmonious interdependence.

Anticipating to a certain extent the sentiments expressed by Eggleston, Hutchins forwarded the opinion that indirectness of method was essential as Australians were very suspicious of a direct approach, and would stand behind proposals emanating from themselves rather than any suggestions the management may make. The employees must run

all the clubs helped out by the inspiration and leadership of the Company's industrial officer. The impression had to be left in the minds of the employees that they were 'running it' and not being run.

Hutchins proposed that after the sporting clubs and insurance schemes had been running for some months the opportunity might be taken to engineer a meeting of delegates from each concern to discuss the formation of a joint association to coordinate the whole and gradually extend the cooperative activities of the Claremont community. At that stage it would not be difficult to get the employees to suggest that a full time secretary be appointed by the Company to be the executive officer for these activities (Hutchins to Colleyshaw, 27 July 1923, Private and Confidential Information for Australia Second File).

Human relations, as administered by Hutchins, aimed in a calculating way to gain control over the worker in order to prevent industrial conflict and to secure the future of the company. Although the worker may have initially participated in welfare for instrumental reasons, regardless of this, it enabled the Cadbury company's control to extend into the employees' working and social life. Hutchins recognised that the worker's participation in welfare made him ideologically dependent upon the company to such an extent that the company would be able to get him to suggest ideas. The company's control over the worker had become so extensive he had no access to alternative interpretations. He had no choice but to morally subscribe to the company's interpretation of the situations he was placed in. In this way, the paternalistic relationship was legitimised enabling stabilised patterns of control to be perpetuated virtually without challenge.

The success of Hutchin's expectations can be guaged by the formation of a Welfare Committee in 1924 whose functions were very similar to the Bournville Workers' Councils. It was comprised of three management representatives and seven workers. Its duties included recreation and grounds, education, social-work, sickness and insurance and the canteen (Board Meetings Minute File, 1924). The Welfare Committee advised in 1925 that it would be advantageous to begin a pension or superannuation provident fund as soon as circumstances permitted. The proposition was put before the Bournville Board who debated whether 'we ought to accept the position we have a moral obligation to make some provision for the male employees at Claremont'. Cadburys decided it was difficult for them to undertake such an obligation while Claremont was still running at a loss. It was 'in the interest of the employees themselves in order to assure their continued employment with the company not to do anything which would delay the conversion of the present loss into profit'. The Bournville directors felt they had no obligation until Cadburys' permanent position in Australia was assured (Minutes 175 Board Minutes 1925-6; Aust. Committee Minutes 14 Jan. 1920 to 26 Aug. 1929).

Claremont recorded its first profit of £17,800 in 1929. But in 1930 they were reporting a positive slump in demand and a consequent drop in production by more than fifty percent. In response to this the number of employees dropped dramatically. (Appendix 2) This, effectively, marked the end of any further idealistic attempts to create a Bournville in Hobart.

Nevertheless, welfare continued to function strongly in some areas. In 1937 the average workforce numbered 595. In that same year the Claremont Workers Sick and Dental Benefit Scheme had 573 members. In terms of membership the various clubs were as follows:

CLUB MEMBERSHIP FOR THE YEAR

1937

Club	No. of Members
Library	222
Golf Club	145
Cricket Club	25
Youth Club	28
Girls Club	30
Swimming Club	168
Tennis Club	13

Welfare had become an established tradition and participation in it was taken for granted. Although it underwent a temporary decline in war years, almost thirty years later in 1956 the Cricket Club, Social Club, Colour Camera Club, Girls Club, Floricultural Society, Library and annual picnic still continued. The social effects of these welfare schemes was to bind the employees to the company and gain their moral commitment.

However, this trend towards using welfare provisions as a means of control was not widespread in Australia. From 1913-20 40.6% of strikes were due to work conditions and management policy; this proportion rose to 48.7% in 1921-30. Industrial unrest due to wage and hour disputes fell in those periods from 41.5% to 21.9% (Oxam 1973:48).

These trends were not apparent at Cadburys where they had for many years the impressive record of not having lost a day's production through industrial action. They were able to attract the workers who

were most likely not housed under good conditions and wished to improve their lot, (Production Report 26/4/56 Suppl. Papers 1956). In the early 1960's this group was comprised of migrants mainly from Yugoslavia and Poland, who came to represent an increasing proportion of the labour force (Appendix 3). It is likely that their lack of integration into Australian society and their apathy towards trade unionism enabled them to be easily encompassed by the paternalistic relationship. The effect of welfare was such that the loyalty of the worker was stronger to the company than to his union, therefore ensuring that the unions remained disunited and docile. This guaranteed that for a considerable period the Cadbury workers remained lower paid than in other industries, even though it may be argued that in real terms, welfare gave the workers a potentially larger pay packet. In 1958, the E.Z. Co. paid their fitters £21/17/0, Australian Newsprint Mills £20/7/6, whereas Cadbury were able to pay their fitters only £17/3/0 (22 May 1958, Supplementary Papers, 1958).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Having examined through historical sources anddocuments the principles, development and social consequences of welfare at Cadburys, Claremont, the relationships between Progressivism, paternalism, Quakerism and the attitudes of Australian workers can be seen to be crucial factors in the development of welfare programmes. From this basis further suggestions are forwarded regarding the direction future research on welfare at Cadburys may take.

Welfare at Claremont contained no elements of evangelism that attempted to raise the worker morally. It was a secular means to rationally calculable ends, and as such involved the manipulation of the employees in order to gain the greatest possible profit. Quakerism was, therefore, given only token recognition at Claremont. Instead of dictating welfare policy, it had become merely a matter of private worship, of concern only to the few Quakers amongst the British immigrants. Thus it failed to have a pervasive influence.

This was at least partly due to increasing trends towards secularisation and industrial unrest in a changed societal context. These changes had made Quakerism less relevant as an ideology which justified welfare as changing the social environment and morally raising the worker, especially given the affluence of the Australian worker. Religious dogma, such as that of Quakerism did not have the same relevance to suburban Hobart in 1920, as it did to the slums of Birmingham in 1879.

destroyed their belief in the reciprocal obligations involved between employer and employee. Thus in 1920, E.Z. was paying their tradesmen 18/- and their builder's labourers 14/4 per day, when the determination of the builders and painters wages Board set tradesmen wages at 20/- and builder's labourers at 18/- as well as decreeing a forty four hour week. The company refused to adhere to the determination resulting in a lock-out (Burrows, 1978).

The economic interests of E.Z. demanded that the workers be treated as impersonal commodities subject to the vagaries of the labour market, whilst the obligations of paternalism demanded they be personally protected and cared for as far as possible. The collapse of the labour market forced E.Z. to deny the paternalistic relationship by dismissing a number of workers. E.Z.'s resort to coercive power in the lockout broke any remaining paternalistic links between employer and employees. The extent of worker loyalty and committment was decreased, ensuring that from this period E.Z. paid higher wages than Cadburys (Newby: 1977b).

The contrast between E.Z. and Cadbury's allows us to see more clearly the outcomes of paternalistic relationships formed through welfare, and strengthened by the specific composition and attitudes of the Cadbury labour force. These outcomes constitute to a certain extent an unintended consequence of the Cadbury programme. However, these effects were compatible with the strategy formulated by the Cadbury management to prevent industrial unrest, and to minimise production costs. In that sense paternalism has proved to be a success.

Some methodological problems were encountered. The 1921 census was too crude to give data to support the Hobart worker hypothesis whilst the figures in the 1933 census were affected by a depressed economy. The Hobart worker concept was mainly constructed from the perceptions of the Cadbury managers. As well, a qualitative change in the nature of the documents held by Cadburys made it difficult to assess the social impact of changes such as the new houses erected on the estate between 1949-59 to attract skilled labour, the large post war influx of migrant workers and variations in welfare since 1960. The greatest change occurred in 1971 when Cadburys merged with Schweppes. This new company took action to dispose of all non-earning assets by selling the bowling and golf clubs and 71 of the 84 houses the company had built. Within the factory rationalisations were made resulting in some employees becoming redundant. Further research could be undertaken to relate these events, signifying the end of paternalism, with the subsequent increase in industrial unrest at Cadbury-Schweppes.

Appendix 1

A COMPARISON OF SOME FACTORY FIGURES IN THE VARIOUS STATES OF AUSTRALIA

Item	N.S.W.	Victoria	Tasmania	Remarks	In favour of
Persons per 10,000 population employed in factories	635	836	406	Lower figure for Tas. means more to be 'tapped'	Tas.
No. of factories over 100 hands	191	191	7		
Total hands in all factories	118000	117000	8080		
Males	89000	75000	6860		
Females	29000	42000	1220		
Males	75%	64%	85%		
Females	25%	36%	15%	very little female factory labour in Tas. To bring T. up to NSW level will yield 190 workers per 10,000 population, i.e. in Hobart alone about 400 females.	Tas.
Wages per male 1912	£89	£83	£93		Vic.
Wages per male 1917	£149	£136	£120		Tas.
Wages per female 1912	£48	£45	£37		Tas.
Wages per female 1917	£57	£54	£50		Tas.
Value of production all factories per employee 1912	£208	£159	£159		N.S.W.
1917	£245	£196	£277		Tas.
Pop. of state capital	1930,000	1,431,000	209,000		

Source: Board Meetings Minute File Jan.1920 to Dec. 1921; Jan.to Dec. 1973.

Appendix 2

Factory numbers

1929	July	329
1930	"	234
1931	"	205
1932	"	270
1933	"	321
1934	"	434
1935	"	519

Source: Factory Directors Reports Nos. 14-34,
Board Minute Files 1931-35.

Appendix 3

Migrants as % of factory workforce

	Men %	Girls %
March 1958	19	27
Sept 1960	23	32
Dec 1960	23	33
March 1961	22	36
Sept 1961	23	35
March 1962	23	31
Sept 1962	22	33
Oct 1962	22	33
Dec 1962	21	31

Migrants by Nationality

	Men	Girls	Total
Austrian	8	3	11
Bulgarian	1	-	1
Czech	4	1	5
Dutch	3	6	9
Ethiopian	1	-	1
Finnish	-	8	8
German	8	14	22
Greek	8	14	22
Hungarian	3	1	4
Italian	13	5	18
Japanese	-	1	1
Latvian	3	2	5
Lithuanian	4	2	6
Polish	28	40	68
Roumanian	2	1	3
Russian	-	1	1
Swiss	-	2	2
Turkish	-	2	2
Ukranian	2	6	8
Yugoslavian	23	17	40
			236

Ref: Supplementary Papers 1958, 1961, 1962, 1963.

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